Workers' Dreadnought

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The American White Terror and the Communist Party.

By LOUIS C. FRAINA, Editor of the "Revolutionary Age."

Through the organisation of the Communist Party, the consciously revolutionary proletariat of the United States has aligned itself with the Communist proletariat of the world; while the American Government, through its savage repression and persecution of the Communist Party, has definitely aligned itself with those counter-revolutionary governments that are trying to crush the on-coming proletarian revolution.

Capitalism and the Government in the United States have always been brutal toward the workers. The American working-class movement has been steeped in blood—in spite of which, for some peculiar reason, American "democracy" seems to have fascinated the world. There is no democracy in America—there is a democratic oligarchy, from which the proletarian masses are excluded.

Upon the American declaration of war against Germany, the Government immediately set in motion a most savage repression of the opposition. Scores of members of the Socialist Party were arrested—this Party opposing the war in spite of the miserable opportunism of the Party officials. The repression was particularly severe against the I.W.W., practically all the national officials of which were sentenced to imprisonment.

After the Armistice, a large number of strikes broke out, which verged on revolutionary action. The Government used its forces to terrorize the strikers, and started a campaign against Bolshevism.

On September 1st, 1919, the Communist Party was organised. Within a few weeks, the repression started. It is now four months since our Party was organised, and already it is the storm centre of the revolutionary class struggle in the United States. The character and extent of the repressive measures used against the Communist Party are unparalleled. The Socialist Party, now completely reactionary, is being left scrupulously alone; a new attack, I imagine, is being prepared upon the I.W.W., although this militant organisation is at present allowed to work in comparative peace; but upon the Communist Party is being concentrated all the fury and power of the American White Terror.

Here are some facts:—

1.—About 500 of the 45,000 members of the Communist Party have been arrested. Many have been released, but spent at least one or two days in prison.

2.—Nine of the 15 members of our Central Executive Committee are under arrest; indictments are being prepared against the others.

3.—All the editors of the 15 daily and weekly newspapers of the Communist Party have been arrested.

4.—In a number of cities, our Party is wholly illegal, and can work only underground; a membership card in the Communist Party is considered sufficient to make an arrest.

5.—Meetings of our Party are repeatedly prohibited, and our headquarters raided, the literature being seized and the furniture destroyed!

One or two other facts will prove interesting. C. E. Ruthenberg, our national secretary, has four cases pending against him, and is out on $45,000 bail. Membership in the Communist Party is considered sufficient basis for deportation; and thousands of our Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Jugo-Slav and Hungarian comrades are now being prepared for deportation. On November 8th, the Communist Party of New York City was to have held a demonstration at Rutgers Square to celebrate the Bolshevik Revolution; the press carried on a provocative campaign, declaring that dynamite was to be used, etc.; on the morning of November 8th, there were, at Rutgers Square, 2,000 policemen and 1,000 soldiers, and the most infamous massacre in American history would have taken place if the demonstration had not been called off.

The complete story of this repression would conclusively prove that American "Czarism" is more savage than the Russian. Indeed, Congress is already considering legislation providing the death penalty for inciting to riot and rebellion—which could be used to sentence to death the organisers of any mass demonstration at which the police provoked a clash. . . .

This persecution of the Communist Party has a much more general and important purpose than simply to break our Party. The Communist Party, as yet, is not a real menace to American Capitalism, but, potentially, it is. It is the general awakening of labour, of which the Communist Party is the most conspicuous expression, against which the American Government is acting. During the steel strike, which involved, approximately, 300,000 workers, the Government broke the strike by means of the Courts—securing injunctions prohibiting the Union leaders from carrying on the strike—and the Union leaders cowardly submitted. In these, and other strikes, the workers manifested a gratifying militant spirit, but were baulked by the reactionary Union officials. The repression of the Government and the betrayals by the Union officials are developing intense unrest: giant struggles are coming, and the Government is acting to strengthen its own power. As the Communist Party would, in the coming struggles, act as the conscious revolutionary factor and director, the Government strives to crush the Party.

Organised only four months, the Communist Party of America is already a power. It has issued the revolutionary challenge to Capitalism and the State; it carried on a revolutionary agitation in the steel, coal and other strikes—particularly in the steel strike, the Communist Party at Gary producing an inspiring struggle between the strikers and the forces of Capitalism; and the Communist Party is assuming the active leadership of the militant opposition elements in the old Unions.

The American Government is trying to produce an artificial revolutionary crisis to provoke a premature trial of strength, giving it the opportunity to crush our movement in blood. We are aware of this policy, of its purposes and its dangers; and we shall not be caught in the snare.

Government repression makes it almost impossible to carry on our work in the open—some underground activity has become absolutely necessary. But we shall not go completely underground. The history, traditions and contemporary situation of the United States are such that a wholly secret movement could never become a real factor. We are, accordingly, developing both an open and a secret organisation—preparing for any emergency. In spite of the Government repression and the enormous risks, we shall carry on as much of our work in the open as we can. This is our present policy; what the future holds in store we know not. . . .

The Communist Party of America accepts Communism unreservedly—plants itself firmly upon the principles and tactics of the Communist International. We do not maintain that mass action, Soviets, and proletarian dictatorship are adapted only to peculiar Russian conditions; we are convinced that mass action, Soviets, and proletarian dictatorship are universally necessary in the process of the proletarian revolution. Every country, of course, has its own peculiar conditions and problems, necessitating variations in the *immediate* application of Communist principles and tactics. The Communist Party of America realises this necessity; and is

KARL LIEBKNECHT

Speaking in front of the German Imperial Palace, Berlin, November 9th, 1918.

e Pointing to the entrance of the Palace, Liebknecht said: "Through that door will enter the coming socialist freedom of the Workers and Soldiers. Let us hoist there, in place of the Imperial Standard, the Red Flag of the Free German Republic."

adapting the Communist struggle to American conditions. We are not on the verge of social revolution, but we are in the midst of intense revolutionary struggles, preliminary to the revolution.

Our most important immediate task (besides the awakening of understanding of fundamental Communist theory and practice) is to agitate and work for a general industrial union. The American Federation of Labour dominantly is corrupt and reactionary, but there are virile opposition elements developing. There can be no real revolutionary movement in America until the American Federation of Labour is split. The I.W.W. is not really a union, but a propaganda committee; and it cannot break the American Federation of Labour or rally all the militant union elements. There must be a concentration of all militant union elements, including the I.W.W., into a new revolutionary industrial union. On this task we are concentrating. As a necessary part of this work, the Communist Party is organising Shop Branches and Workers' Councils. The Shop Branches are direct branches of the Party in the shops—making the Party actually a part of the industrial proletariat and creating a mechanism for the establishment of Soviets when the moment for action comes. The Workers' Councils are not directly connected with the Communist Party, although we direct and control them as far as possible; the function of these Councils is to organise the opposition elements in particular unions, carrying on the struggle against the reactionary officials, and agitating for revolutionary industrial unionism.

Within the past three months strikes have taken place involving more than 1,000,000 workers. Of 72 strikes declared during this period, 66 were "unauthorised"—that is, declared against the orders of the Union officials. All the strikes were defeated, because of the sabotage of the Union officials, and because there was no unity in the strikes. Strikes were declared and fought piece-meal, and therefore defeated piece-meal. If the American Federation of Labour had been a real Labour Union, it would have unified the strikes, given them a common purpose and direction; but, instead, the American Federation of Labour sabotaged the strikes. The Communist Party, realising the fundamental character of these strikes as peculiar to the period, participated actively by means of agitation. It issued the slogan "Unify the strike," urging the organisation of Strike Councils—that is, organisations directly elected by the workers and independent of the Unions. The purpose of these Strike Councils, unified into a national council, was to unify the strikes, and give them a common purpose and direction. These Councils also, should a crisis develop, might become transformed into Soviets. Our agitation for Strike Councils did not produce immediate practical results, but it did plant the idea of new organs of proletarian action.

The outstanding feature of the American situation is that the workers are beginning to move—that great proletarian events are coming.

The United States is, to-day, a world-power—the centre of reaction. We, of the American Communist Party, feel that, Soviet Russia remaining unshaken, Europe will enter into a period of alternating peace and war, particularly in Asia; that gradually the British Empire will totter, and revolution break out in England, spreading to the Continent. The next great struggle will come in England—the final struggle come in the United States. Then our turn will come—and we are preparing.

Greetings to the Communist comrades of England, with best wishes for success in their coming struggle.

Pass the "DREADNOUGHT" on to your Friends.

A HIDEOUS SATIRE.

Bernard Shaw's *Heartbreak House* is a grim and ugly satire. Its sordidly-minded, penny-grubbing workers; its silly, irresponsible, well-to-do people, are without a redeeming feature. Is this what Capitalism and its class distinctions, its division of the human race into masters and servants has made of Society?

All the workers are dull of intellect, utterly selfish and quite incapable of grasping any idea beyond their own immediate, bodily needs.

There is the elderly clerk, whining with that despicable jealousy of the poor towards the poor, accompanied by an unquestioning acceptance of the riches of the rich: "Young Bill Knight that I took with me got two and sevenpence. I got nothing. Is that justice?" . . . Why did they give young Bill Knight two and sevenpence, and not give me even my tram fare. What do I care about the realm? They done me out of two and seven——"

There is the old Irish woman, whose love of Ireland is ignorant hatred of the British, before the members of whose ruling class she cringes, lies and flatters. There is the mercenary Irish servant girl, whose first question to her soldier lover is whether the chain he has brought back from the War for her is "real gold," and whose principal anxiety is to discover what his pension will be if he is wounded, and whether he is going out again to qualify for it. There is the sordid quarrel of the two women over the gold chain.

There is the almost half-witted nurse, so patient that she is tiresome to the employing class, roused to a vindictive shrewdness at the sight of her blackguard husband: "Why did't you shoot him, sir? If I'd known who he was, I'd have shot him myself." And the husband, the cowardly impostor who pretends to commit burglaries in order to get caught in the hope of being paid to go away quietly so that people may be spared the unpleasantness of prosecuting him.

Poverty dwarfs the horizon and develops meanness.

These plays give us an ugly exaggeration of that fact, which makes us turn, as to havens of peace and soundness, to our experience that, after all, people of all classes are really very much alike, and to the fact that, some day, we shall have abolished class distinctions and poverty altogether. These plays seem painfully to sear the mind and the Socialist will find, through them, new phases of hatefulness in capitalist society, but if the uninitiated are enlightened by the book, that will happen in spite of Shaw's own comments.

Lord Augustus Highcastle, a member of the governing class, dressed in the uniform of a colonel, who pretends he is winning the war by making recruiting speeches and ordering others to economise, is a very broadly farcical parody of the actual thing; but we cannot forgive Shaw for the preface to "Augustus." In it Shaw says:—

"It opened the heart of every official to me. I have always been treated with distinguished consideration in my contacts with bureaucracy during the War; but, on this occasion, I found myself *persona grata* in the highest degree. There was only one word when the formalities were disposed of, and that was: we are up against Augustus all the day. The showing up of Augustus scandalised one or two innocent and patriotic critics, who regarded the prowess of the British Army as inextricably bound up with Highcastle prestige. But our Government departments knew better: their problem was, how to win the War with Augustus on their backs; well-meaning, brave, patriotic, but obstructively fussy, self-important, imbecile, and disastrous."

That pride in being received with "distinguished consideration" by the directors of the capitalist war, that making common cause with the governing Capitalists; is something incomprehensible to us. What a beastly thing this capitalist society is, that it should make snobs and unconscious hypocrites of so many people! Nor can we forgive the production of *O'Flaherty, V.C.*, which, as Shaw himself declares, was intended for recruiting Irishmen, and in which the false doctrine is preached that men are uplifted and broadened by being used as tools in a capitalist war. "O'Flaherty, V.C.," is the only worker in the book who rises above the most sordid materialism, and we are expected to believe that his part in the War has exalted him.

Shaw has not yet recovered from war fever and war prejudice; he is still a bourgeois social patriot: "We presently found ourselves confronted with the necessity of destroying Prussia to prevent Prussia destroying us.

"They left their creative work to drudge at destruction, exactly as they would have left it to take their turn at the pumps in a sinking ship. They did not like some of the conscientious objectors hold back because the ship had been neglected by its officers and scuttled by its wreckers. The ship had to be saved, even if Newton had to leave his fluxions and Michael Angelo his marbles, to save it.

"I have had the privilege of hearing some of our ablest commanders talking about their work. . . ."

These extracts show the trend of what is still the author's thought. Oh Shaw! Shaw! bury yourself in Marx and Lenin for six months; then, perhaps, you will be able to write about the War.

The various criticisms of the Government and the jingoes during the War are all utterly superficial. Not one of them strikes to the root of things.

"The electorate, disgusted at its own work, instantly recoiled to the opposite extreme, and cast out all the coupon candidates at the earliest bye-elections by equally silly majorities."

"It seems only the other day that a millionaire was a man with £50,000 a year; to-day, when he has paid his income tax and super-tax, he is lucky if his net income is £10,000, though his nominal property remains the same. And this is the result of a Budget which is called 'a respite for the rich.'"

Does Shaw forget his poor old clerk, whining for an extra two and sevenpence, and his "Mrs. O'Flaherty," hoping to die before the separation allowance stops?

In his own commentary Shaw has a word for the religious conscientious objector, but not for the Socialist. He is entirely wrong, as hundreds of Socialist objectors, who have served imprisonment, can testify when he says: "There were in the country, too, a certain number of people who had conscientious objections to war as criminal or un-Christian. . . .. they were persecuted with savage logicality, in spite of the law; whilst those who had no pretence of having any objection to war at all, and had not only had military training in Officers' Training Corps, but had proclaimed on public occasions that they were perfectly ready to engage in civil war on behalf of their political opinions were allowed the benefit of the Act on the ground that they did not approve of this particular war. For the Christians there was no mercy."

Everyone who knows anything at all about the matter, knows that socialist objectors, as a broad, general rule, were treated much more harshly by the Tribunals than were religious objectors. Shaw is simply showing his own bias against the class-war Socialists, who recognised the War to be one of capitalist greed on both sides, when he thus mis-states the facts.

The preface to "the Inca of Perusalem" (the emperor of Germany), is really bad: strange that Shaw, the satirist, should prove so shockingly like some of his own characters when he comes to write a preface..

There is an awful frivolity in the statement: "The upshot of the fighting has shown that we could well have afforded to laugh at the doomed Inca." This, in face of the great loss of promising young lives, which the author himself deplores!

But the worst play in the book is the *Bolshevik Empress*, because it says only Russia's re-entry into the War under the leadership of a member of the ruling house could save the revolution! E.S.P.

STRIKE IN CITY RESTAURANTS.

Fifteen shillings a week is "a tip-top wage" for a waiter in the City of London, a picket told us, and many restaurants pay 10s., 7s. 6d., or 5s. a week, whilst some pay no wages at all. A well-known firm in Bird Court, Cheapside, is one of those that employ unpaid waiters. Waitresses get much less: 4s. a week is a common wage for them. The working hours are often from 9.30 to 4, when the evening staff comes on, but at a certain well-known Fleet Street restaurant, waitresses paid 4s. a week have been working from 9.30 a.m. to 9.30 p.m. three days a week, and from 9.30 to 4 on other days.

"There are the tips." Oh! yes, there are the tips; but the workers wish to abolish these. They say that they are made to be professional beggars, yet they may not ask for a tip; if they did so, they would be dismissed. Moreover, in proof that the tips do not make up a living wage, is the fact that many waiters take evening employment in the West End after doing a day's work in the City!

The cooks, who do not get tips, by the way, are paid £1, £1 5s. or £2 a week. Eight hundred members of the Chefs' and Waiters' Union, employed in City restaurants, are now striking for 30s. for waiters and waitesses, and a minimum wage of £2. for cooks.

Their pickets are trying to deter the public from eating in City restaurants, but the public is not very responsive.

The waiters are hoping that the transport and vehicle workers will refuse to carry goods to the City restaurants, but, so far, this is a hope—nothing more.

The trade unions are all full of sympathy, but sympathy will neither pay the rent nor beat the employer. So, because the workers have not yet learnt solidarity, the waiters and waitresses stand in the cold, appealing to the City Capitalists not to take lunch in scab shops!

The waiters ought to be revolutionary, but in the main, they are not—not yet.

Get your Newsagent to show a Poster.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS. By L.J.S.

Jacques Sadoul Appeal.

In a stirring article in *La Vie Ouvrière* (Paris) Jacques Sadoul, writing from Moscow, appeals to the French revolutionary proletariat to prepare for the coming revolution and to unite. No people, he points out, has sacrificed so many lives on "the monstrous altar of patriotism," as that of France. "More even than conquered Germany, victorious France has been crushed by the imperialist butchery of 1914-18." Not only would the maintenance of the capitalist system involve a still worse subjection and explcitation of the workers, but even an aggravation of the present chaos and, finally, the total decompositon of the social organism. "From now it is clear that the final oligarchy, which governs under the mask of the Parliamentary lackeys, will prolong its dying hours only by precipitating the people into a new adventure of blood, ending in the total ruin of civilisation. For such an evil there is only one remedy—revolution."

"France was bled, ruined, exhausted, more than any other nation by the Imperialist war. We know that our rulers have had massacred, during the conflict, masses of active Socialists and Syndicalists. We know that, even in the past few months, we have been oppressed by martial law, by censorship, by courts-martial, police dictatorship, and the horrible menace of the Anglo-American troops of occupation and of the Black Army. . . ."

Jacques Sadoul is entirely opposed to "unity" between revolutionaries and opportunists. Unity, he points out, must imply either believing in the same doctrines or employing the same tactics. "Unity of doctrine can only mean, for us, the union of workers determined to begin immediately the transformation of society, and to persevere until they have attained a society which is purely Communist. Unity of tactics can only bring together the Communists who are determined to use revolutionary action, direct mass action, to take by force political power and the capitalist means of production; to institute the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system, in order, that is, to realise the doctrine and execute the programme of the Third International."

Congress of French Socialists at Lille.

After a varying, but predominantly revolutionary debate at the Congress of the French Socialists of the North, at Lille, the three different resolutions which had been submitted were withdrawn, and the following was passed:—

"The Federation of the North realises the impossibility of reviving the International within the Second. It consequently gives a mandate to its delegates at Strasburg to vote for the withdrawal of the French section from the Second International. It invites them to ask the C.A.P. to try to bring about union with all the Socialists of other sections, with the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, and with the sections adhering to the Third International which wish to carry on socialist action on the basis of the class struggle and revolution."

Odessa is Calm.

According to a telegram from Odessa, the town is calm, shops are open, people move about freely, there is plenty of food. The cold is intense, the sea is frozen for a considerable distance from the coast.

The Bolshevik forces who have taken Nicolaiev are well equipped.

From Archangel to French Prisons.

Thirty-five Bolsheviki have been brought by gendarmes to the Isle de Croix for internment. They were arrested last month in Archangel, where they were conducting an active propaganda among the soldiers of the Allies, inciting them to mutiny.

Lenin on Self-Determination.

In March, 1919, Lenin delivered a speech on the independence of nationalities, and singled out Poland as an illustration. This part of the speech is of especial interest now, having regard to the recent peace offer sent to Poland, the second in a period of twelve months.

Lenin said:—

"In Poland, the expression of the will of the proletariat takes its course. The last returns of the composition of the Warsaw workers' Soviet show that 350 renegade Socialists and 297 Communists were elected. This means that over there, according to our revolutionary calendar, October (November) is not far distant; we can safely say that, as far as the revolutionary movement in Poland is concerned, it is about August-September, 1917.

"But let me assure you that no decree has ever been issued which lays it down that every country must follow the Bolshevik calendar; and if such a decree had appeared, it would not be acted upon. Further, it is a fact that the majority of the Polish workers, who are more advanced and more polished than ours, have made national defence and patriotic Socialism their platform. Therefore, we must be patient, as the time for a workers' policy, apart from nationalism, is not yet ripe. To produce this change an energetic propaganda on our part is required. We are ready for it.

"Let no one imagine that it would be possible for us to deny the right of Polish nationality. That is definite enough. The Polish proletarian movement follows the same path as ours; that is, it marches on towards the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Attempts are made to frighten the Polish workers by telling them that the Muscovites, the Great Russians, who have always oppressed Poland, want to introduce their Great-Russian chauvinism under the guise of Communism."

In another speech, delivered on March 19th, in defence of his thesis, Lenin warned his comrades against this kind of chauvinism, which still existed in their midst, and, parodying a well-known proverb, he did not hesitate to tell them: "Scratch Communism, and out comes the Great-Russian jingo." He reminded them of the deep-rooted antagonism of all the subject races in the time of Czarist Russia, and went on to say:—

"It is only to-day that we are learning the necessity for reparation, and we have not yet learned it thoroughly enough. For instance, there are Communists among us who say: 'One school for everyone; therefore we need teach no other language than Russian.' In my opinion such a comment is nothing but the remains of the old Great-Russian jingoism. There is a jingo inside many of us, and we must combat him."

He demonstrated to comrade Piatakov that the Soviet formula cannot triumph simultaneously in a Europe where all nations had not reached the same state of development, and concluded, saying:—

"The chief point of the 'nationalities' problem is, that although different nations follow the same historic path, the means of so doing require different preliminaries, and progress is determined by the cultural development of the various nations concerned. Comrade Piatakov is perfectly right in saying that we must be united, but we must achieve this unity by means of propaganda, by party influence, by the formation of new trade unions. One cannot always act according to one set rule and example. To modify or strike out that part of our programme (the right of self-determination) would be possible if there were people without national characteristics. But such people do not exist, and we must build up Socialist society accordingly."

Trotsky's Message to the Red Guards Entering Ukraine.

"Comrades, Soldiers, Commanders, Commissars:

"You are entering upon the soil of Ukraine, in your process of crushing the bands of Denikin, and are thus liberating a fraternal country from its violators. Ukraine belongs to Ukrainian peasants and workers. Only they have the right to dispose of it, to rule it, and to build up a new life in their country.

While dealing the blows to the Denikin bands, you must, at the same time, show brotherly sympathy and confidence to the toiling masses of Ukraine, and woe to the one who, with mailed fist, will do violence to a toiler of the Ukrainian people, whether in city or in country place. Our task is not the conquest of Ukraine, but her liberation, and, after the bands of Denikin are completely smashed, they will choose to live, and in what relation towards the toiling people of free Ukraine will decide for themselves how they will choose to live, and in what relation towards Soviet Russia? We all believe and know that the toiling people of Ukraine will come out for the closest fraternal union with us. . . ."

Moscow Soviets Communist Majority.

427 delegates have been elected to the Moscow Soviet. Of these 393 are Communists, 14 sympathisers with Communism, 18 non-party, and 2 Mensheviki.

THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

Rose Whitcop writes that in response to the appeal we inserted for the debt incurred by *The Communist*, she has received the following sums: E. S. Pankhurst, £1; B. Black, £1; C. Daniels, 2/6. The money will be sent on to Scott-Duckers, solicitor for the National Labour Press.

Comrade Burnett, of the Communist League, says that the League is making itself responsible for the debt.

Rank & File Convention

Called by the

National Administrative Council

of

Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees,

Scottish Workers' Committees,

Central London Council of Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees and South Wales Unofficial Reform Committee.

To be held the day before

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS

and the evenings during its sittings.

All Workers' Committees, Trades Unions, Trades Union Branches, Trades Councils, Socialist Societies and their Branches are invited to send delegates.

Object: To declare the "Rank and File" policy in regard to Russia and the class-war.

If your society has not yet received an Agenda and invitation to the Convention, write to the Secretary, M. F. Hebbes, 10, Tudor Street, London, E.C.4.

TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

The Third International and the Parties adhering to it in all countries are now considering the question of Parliamentary action. Lenin has expressed the view that this is not a question of principle but merely one of tactics. Nevertheless he thinks that Parliamentary action may be made useful in Communist propaganda.

But Lenin's view of Parliamentary action is by no means that of the Second International. He does not regard Parliamentary action as a means of gaining reforms, but of attacking the Parliamentary institution. Those who follow Lenin's policy would go there, as Parnell did, merely to obstruct and to cause difficulties to the capitalists of all parties.

The following statement concerning Parliamentarism in the highly industrialised countries of Western Europe was laid before the Conference of the Third International at Amsterdam. The discussion of Parliamentarism was however postponed to a further conference, and the subject should meantime be considered by British Communists.

The question of participation in Parliamentary action being merely one of tactics, it can only be decided according to local conditions. The various Communist Parties and Groups adhering to the Third International must be left free to adopt Parliamentary action, or to reject it if they choose. It would be dangerous and cramping for the Third International to prescribe it as an essential tactic.

In some phases of the struggle between the ideology of bourgeois democracy and that of the Soviets and the proletarian dictatorship, abstention from Parliamentary action is necessary.

Communist Parties, whose policy and discipline is not yet strong and coherent, and whose theory is not yet firmly grounded, may easily be corrupted and revert to second-Internationalism by a plunge into the Parliamentary contest.

It must be recognised that, in the higly-industrialised Western countries, of which Britain is at once the extreme and typical example, the feeling of the revolutionary sections of the working-class is turning ever more definitely from Parliamentarism and from all Parliamentary tactics.

It would be a fatal mistake for the Communist Parties to allow the question of Parliamentary action to divide them from the revolutionary masses.

When the workers have passed through Trade Unionism and Labour Parliamentarism, through industrial unionism, and have developed a Marxian appreciation of the class war, and are striving to build up amongst the workers within their own industries the organisation and consciousness from which the Soviets will spring, they are unlikely to turn their attention back to Parliamentarism in any form. Even those who have not yet arrived at a full appreciation of Communism and the Soviet structure, may be assisted in their development to this point of consciousness, rather by teaching developed from the point at which they have arrived, than by an attempt to bring them back to Parliamentarism.

It must be recognised that, as the bourgeoisie discover that Parliament is being used as a platform for propaganda by those who do not intend to use Parliament for legislative objects, but whose object is to destroy its influence, Parliaments will take steps to protect themselves from such a use being made of them by adapting their procedure to meet the case. The British Parliament has already gone far in this direction. There is a stage in the revolutionary struggle when Parliamentarism can no longer be used to advantage; only those who are engaged in the revolutionary struggle in each country can decide when that moment has arrived.

It is imperative that the Third International should guard itself against a drift towards the right, during this present period of comparative quiescence in the revolutionary struggle outside Russia. Such a drift towards the right might lead to a revival of reformist Parliamentary action within the Third International itself. It must be guarded against with the utmost vigilance, and repudiated with strong emphasis should it appear.

A CONSISTENT PACIFIST.

Dear Editor: In reference to Snowden's letter in the *Labour Leader* of Feb. 12th, may I, as a pacifist, be allowed a little space in which to say that, to be consistent, Snowden should have repudiated the Second International in louder tones of horror than he has the Third.

Many of those who attended the Second International backed up, and believed in, a capitalist war, and we have yet to hear they have recanted or repented. Snowden believed in working in Parliament, and did not come out of the House when the War was actually being waged, neither would he, I suppose, object to attend a conference with Henderson, Clynes, Barnes and Co., because they openly advocated and supported a war in which the workers slaughtered one another for the benefit of the Capitalist; but he is greatly shocked at the Third International because some members are in favour of a war for the workers *against* the Capitalist. I am, Yours, etc., Clara Gilbert Cole.

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LONGUET and the TWO INTERNATIONALS.

A Reply to ROBERT DELL.

In our issue of February 14th, we referred to Longuet as one of the centrists of the French Socialist Party, and described his tactics as keeping a foot in both the camp of the Second and of the Third International. Robert Dell dissents from our description of Longuet's policy, and says that we have misrepresented his attitude.

We hope, however, to prove to Dell that our summing up of the position was entirely accurate, though we do not suggest that Longuet is insincere in his, to us, mistaken views. Before doing so, we must point out to Dell that the beacon of Moscow, appearing so much further to the left than anything known for many years in the International, has changed its aspect. Moscow has shown that the differences are much smaller than were supposed between the right wing of the Socialist parties and the centrists, who seemed at one time to belong to the left wing, because the left wing was then so small, and because the Russian example had not yet come to give a practical demonstration of Socialism.

A Confused Policy.

The resolution to be proposed at the Strasbourg conference by the committee for the Reconstruction of the International, quoted by Dell, bears out our contention that the Committee's proposal is to form a right wing in the Third International. It seems to us that Longuet is further to the right than some others in the group that forms this committee. We contend that the tactics of Longuet and of the Re-construction committee are to unite with the Third International elements which hold doctrines so much at variance with those of the Third International that no clear-cut policy of action could result were they combined.

The proposed Strasburg resolution says:—

"None of the fundamental declarations of the Moscow International is at variance with the essential principles of Socialism."

That is not an acceptance of the Moscow declarations as fundamental. It amounts to no more than a toleration of those declarations as something that should not be excluded from the Socialist International, and may be admitted along with differing doctrines. Again, the resolution says:—

"The institution of Workers' Councils is evidently one of the most effective means of arriving at this capture of power."

Here again there is a refusal to admit that the Soviet, or Workers' Council system, is essential, as it is held to be by the Third International.

That Longuet's own interpretation of the resolution agrees with ours may be gathered from an article by him in *L'Humanité* of February 11th. He there declares that the "Third International does not yet exist. . . . it has got to be created." The International founded at Moscow is only "a fertile seed."

"That seed is not in itself the Third International. It cannot be made by one simple section of the International, still less by a group of extreme elements. It must be the union of all the great sections of International Socialism, freely adhering to an international compact, such as can only be concluded by the explicit will of authentic delegates of the millions of revolutionary Socialists that are in the world.

"To endeavour to contain within the narrow limits of a small chapel the vast cathedral of world Socialism—such an effort is predestined to failure.

"We all admire the immense achievements of the Russian proletariat, carried through in the midst of vast difficulties. But, great as are our Bolshevist comrades, they are not, in themselves, the whole of International Socialism."

Futile Attempt To Combine Opposites.

It seems to us that the meaning of those words is quite plain. Longuet wishes to bring all sorts of differing schools of thought together in an International. We contend that this desire is incompatible with an International of revolutionary action. In the long years of preparation it was possible, though we think mistaken, to jumble together reformists and revolutionaries; but this is the revolutionary age, and if the revolutionaries are to be free to act, they must cut themselves adrift from the reformists who desire to mitigate the evils of capitalism, not to wreck it.

We put here a question to Longuet from which arises a further question to Dell:—

(1) *Does Longuet propose to bring into his new International the school of thought represented by men like J. R. MacDonald and Philip Snowden, who are opposed to revolution and to the Soviet structure?*

(2) *If that is Longuet's intention, does Dell still say that Longuet's policy is the right one? Does Dell still believe that the elements now forming the Third International should merge themselves in Longuet's International?*

But let us examine still further into the actual policy of the Committee for the Re-construction of the International; it is not to join the Third International, not to accept its fundamental basis, but to fuse other elements with it. This is made clear by the protagonists of the Committee. Raoul Verfeuil, writing in the *Populaire*, puts the position clearly."

"Must we stay in the Second International? Must we go into the Third?

"Must we fuse the sane elements of the Second with the parties already adhering to the Third?"

He decides, as the Committee does, in favour of the third course. And in another issue of *Populaire* he says: "We wanted to go to Lenin, but we did not want to leave Adler on the way." Here is the crux of the matter: The policy of Lenin is the policy of the Third International, the policy of Adler, although he is a pacifist, is the policy of Social-Patriotic compromise with Capitalism.

Loriot's Policy Triumphs.

At the Congress of the Seine Federation of the French Socialist Party, three resolutions were moved.

The first, supported by Longuet, proposed to re-construct the International.

The second, supported by Loriot, proposed to go straight into the Third International.

The third, for which only Renaudel voted, proposed simply to stay in the Second International.

Loriot's resolution has been carried by 9,930 to 616 votes. Loriot has indeed out-generalled Longuet!

Again, we see that Dell is wrong when he says:—

"The question is whether it is better that a section of the French Socialist Party should secede, or that the whole party—having shed, as it will have to shed, a minority of social-patriots and reformists, should unite with the Third International in company with the large majority of the Socialist parties of Europe."

The Seine Federation has shown that it is prepared, not to negotiate with, but to join the Third International. It remains to be seen whether the whole Party is yet ready to give proof that it can accept the basis of the Third International. Unless it has developed thus far, the Third International cannot accept it. We do not think the process of conversion has yet gone deep enough, or is sufficiently well buttressed for the French Socialist Party to be admitted to the Communist International, but that will be revealed presently. The Seine Socialists have certainly shown that the rank and file have left Longuet and his committee behind.

Longuet's Own Policy.

But now let us review some well-known instances, which reveal Longuet's own policy in action. At Berne he did not act on the Russian question with Paul Faure, Verfeuil, and Frossard. These joined with Loriot in a minority declaration which was obviously one of men who said less than they felt, knowing themselves to be in a hopeless minority, and which was withdrawn for lack of support.

Longuet joined with Adler in a weaker declaration, which, whilst it refused to condemn the Soviet Government, saying: "We have not sufficient material for a judgment," timidly added that it could not "rely solely" on the evidence of the anti-Soviet Russians who were present. It said: "We do not cast the slightest doubt on their good faith." This declaration certainly displayed no great courage or independence.

Longuet, it must be remembered, is still on the Committee of Action of the Second International, in which his colleagues are Camille Huysmans, Renaudel, Henderson, Stuart Bunning and Ramsay MacDonald. The Committee of Action was appointed at Berne in February, 1919. Another congress of the Second International was to have been held in June, 1919, but the Committee of Action decided to postpone the meeting to February, 1920. Last December, the Committee of Action decided again to postpone the congress of the Second International from February until June, 1920. Paul Faure, a member of Longuet's Committee for the re-construction of the International, declared in the *Populaire* that the postponement of the Second International was its death sentence.

During the war the Second International refused to meet.

Camile Huysmans, its secretary, would not call it. Nevertheless, in spite of this treachery to Socialism, Longuet, according to his organ, the *Populaire*, in Brussels recently, rendered a vibrant tribute to Huysmans, declaring that "he alone in the Bureau of the International had followed the teaching of Jaures to keep the International together, in order that it might determine the time and character of the peace."

Is Longuet Responsible?

The Committee of Action, on which Longuet sits, met in Amsterdam in April, 1919, and there passed a number of Wilsonian resolutions, in which all faith was placed in the capitalist League of Nations, and Socialism found no place. No protest was made against the Intervention in Russia. Support was, however, given to the claims of the border States to which Soviet Russia had granted independence, but which, being still under capitalist control, were making armed warfare upon the Soviet Republic. A manifesto of the Committee of Action, published on May 11th, 1919, laid down peace proposals conceived on bourgeois lines, containing the following points:—

(1.) The policy of sectional Alliances in conflict with the League of Nations was denounced; free trade was demanded and an international loan to save the nations menaced by financial ruin.

(2.) It was decided to send a Commission of Inquiry to Russia, consisting of Mistral, Wibout, Henderson and Huysmanns.

These are not Socialist demands. The proposal for an international loan is merely an expedient to stave off revolution. Every adherent acceptable to the Third International looks eagerly forward to the utter ruin of the capitalist States. Longuet evidently holds a different view.

It is true that he might not be responsible for the declarations of the Committee of Action, though he is a member of it, but why does he remain upon that non-Socialist Committee and allow his name to be associated with its policy, unless he wishes to have "a foot in both camps?"

When Longuet went with MacDonald to Italy to endeavour to pursuade the Italian Socialist Party to re-join the International, he wrote in the *Populaire*:—

"The adhesion of the Italian Socialist Party to the Third International at once appeared to us to be in great measure a demonstration, which can largely be explained by the unfortunate admission of the Italian Reformists to the Inter-Allied Conference of London and to the International at Berne. But even the most extreme, and especially Serrati, were in agreement with MacDonald and myself in our declaration of the urgency of re-establishing universal Socialist unity, and, provided it should take action, they were ready to enter the normal and regular International."

It seems to us that by Longuet's own words our case is proved. Moreover, we do not believe that Longuet, himself, would dispute it.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Red Propaganda Amongst the Tommies.

Described by a Deportee.

Three Months Without Money.

A Socialist comrade of Russian nationality, who had lived in London from childhood, and knew not a word of Russian, was deported on refusal to join the British Army in October, 1917. He was taken away at short notice, and almost penniless. He arrived at Archangel when the Bolshevik revolution was just breaking out, and found everything in a state of chaos. The Archangel authorities told him that he might not go to Moscow, Petrograd, or anywhere in Central Russia; but that he might go South if he chose. He decided to do so, and rode in the trains without payment, like many more in those disordered days. For three months he drifted about, existing somehow, mostly on tea given to him by one person or another; sleeping in the streets. At last he got to Petrograd, where he fell dangerously ill for many weeks, but was cared for by comrades he had known in London. When he recovered he took part in spreading Communist propaganda amongst the British troops, and for this purpose travelled widely.

The British in the Caucasus.

In the Caucasus, he reports that the British military authorities were in the position of dictators, and sternly repressed any attempt of the workers there to better their conditions. When the workers of Batum struck for a wages' increase, the British Governor-General, Cook Collins, announced that the strikers would be deported to Denikin if the strike were not called off within 10 hours.

The British sold to the local population at high prices the cheese and other commodities which they brought with them. The people were hostile to the British, complaining of their extortionate charges.

On May 1st, a Labour demonstration was held; the British authorities lined the streets with armoured cars, and cartridges were served out to the troops.

Bolsheviki Sent to Denikin to be Shot.

Persons suspected of Bolshevik views were sent to Denikin to be shot. Many were sent to Novroassik, where they were shot. Our comrade knew personally twenty of these victims.

Y.M.C.A. Anti-Bolshevik Lectures.

Y.M.C.A. leaders gave anti-Bolshevik lectures to the troops on "What has happened in Russia." If any important questions were asked the lecturers always replied: "We cannot answer that question, it is prohibited by the military authorities." One lecturer admitted that he had promised the military authorities not to tell the other side.

Our comrade was in Moscow in July, 1919. The food situation there was then fairly good, as the South was open, and parcels of food weighing up to 10 lbs. could be sent into Moscow as often as one pleased. Illegal private trading was still going on, and small private shops were allowed to trade, except in bread and sugar. The Soviet shops sold rationed foods. Bread and sugar, clothes and ration cards were distributed through the house committees. There are 200 or 150 people in a house. In case of need children came first, the Army second, the civilians third.

Soviet Russia has still a great scarcity of administrators, for under the Czar's oppression few people were educated. Administrators go to a place for three months to train others, and they then move on.

The Peasants and Education.

The peasants have altogether lost their respect for the Czar.

Our comrade showed a photograph of King George to a peasant, who, believing it to represent the Czar, snatched it and trampled it under foot. Portraits of well-known Communists are to be found in all the peasant homes. Lenin is given a central place in every home, and Lunacharsky is beside him because Lunacharsky is Minister of Education. When a visitor comes to the village the peasants at once ask for newspapers, and flock round asking for them to be read aloud. When one enters a peasant's home the parents regretfully say that they are ignorant, but bring forward the children to read to the newcomers. When there are demonstrations in the villages great portraits of Lunacharsky are usually carried in the processions. Lunacharsky's plays have been filmed, and are very popular. The film and the phonograph play a great part in education.

Men and women up to 30 years or so, who have hitherto had little or no education, are beginning to study. Some leave the villages to go to the county schools. They study economics, physics, and all sorts of arts and sciences.

The Montessori Method.

Communist text books, labour nursery rhymes, international songs are prepared for the infant schools, and a special committee attends to this work. The Montessori method is applied. In Moscow the classes for young children number no more than 20. What do British teachers say to that?

In Saratoff the German settlers have one of the best infants' schools our comrade has seen either in Russia or elsewhere.

Propaganda Amongst the Tommies.

Our comrade told us that Fineberg, who was well known in the Socialist movement in London, is head of the department for Communist propaganda amongst the British, and, as we have heard, he publishes a newspaper printed in English called the *Call*. This newspaper at first contained merely revolutionary manifestoes and appeals to the soldiers to throw down their arms. Later, it specialised in articles on economics, and later still it devoted itself to accounts of what is actually happening in Russia, and replies to the Anti-Bolshevik propaganda bulletins, which the British military authorities distributed amongst British and other soldiers. On one occasion the Bolshevik propagandists were able to change an entire issue of the British Military bulletins, and to substitute for it a bulletin of their own, printed in exactly the same style. This was given out to the troops before the authorities discovered the substitution.

Atrocity Stories Exposed.

The British military bulletins frequently contained the names of British taken prisoner by the Red Army with false stories that these men had been tortured and killed. Such prisoners were frequently returned to the British lines by the Red Army, and coming back safe and well, proved that the stories were false.

Many British soldiers were at first terrified by the atrocity stories, some even shot themselves in a panic of fear. Prisoners taken in the South of Russia often begged not to be sent to Siberia, protesting that they could not stand the cold.

Tommies Grow Friendly.

But the British soldiers soon began to get friendly, and to apologise for being in Russia, saying: "You see we can't walk home." In the Caucasus our Comrade met many British soldiers who thoroughly understood the position and said: "There is plenty of oil in Baku; that is why we are here." Cuttings from British newspapers in support of the Soviets were pasted up in the British hospitals.

The soldiers in General Ironside's Army held a meeting in the Y.M.C.A. rooms, and refused to go to the front. They were approached individually, but stood firm. General Ironside himself appealed to them without result. They were taken on a rout march, and then again ordered to the front. Still they refused. The authorities, therefore, decided to disband them.

Popular Enthusiasm for Soviets.

Last March, when Koltchak was making his offensive on the Volga, there were wonderful manifestations of popular enthusiasm for the Soviets. Volunteers for the Red Army presented themselves in tremendous numbers, and had to be sent back to the factories.

Red Terror Stopped Mob Terror.

When the news came that Lenin had been shot the people were grief stricken. The soldiers wandered about dazed, only waiting to see the bulletins telling of Lenin's progress. It is quite certain that after the attempt to assassinate Lenin there would have been mob terror if there had not been the Red terror, which satisfied the people that something was being done to suppress counter-revolutionary crime. As it was, there was great difficulty in protecting counter-revolutionary prisoners, and much popular frenzy was displayed.

There is unemployment in parts of Soviet Russia due to lack of coal and other raw materials. The opponents of the Soviets have tried to use this and any other hardships to stir up disaffection, but without much success. The Mensheviki secured, on one occasion, a strike of railway shop workers, who demanded a bigger bread ration. They were told that they could have that when they built the engines to bring more bread to the district. At first they were dissatisfied, but presently came to see reason.

A Knowledge of Politics.

Millions of Russian people who cannot read, nevertheless thoroughly understand the dictatorship of the proletariat and mass action. The idea of the Constitutent Assembly is quite dead in Russia. There has been a striking development in the political consciousness of the people. In the beginning of 1918 the street conversations were all of what food, what tea, what clothes, or fuel could be obtained, what hardships must be suffered. Now the talk of the people is all of politics, national and international. The Russian workers have a most surprising knowledge of English politics.

Our comrade further told us that he and other deportees had sent money to their destitute families in Britain; but it had not been received by them. Did the British Government intercept it?

IRELAND.

The Labour Party's View.

The Labour Party's Irish deputation is said to have declared for "self-determination" for Ireland. "Self-determination" is, of course, complete freedom to decide whether to remain in the Empire, or to leave it and become an independent nation, or join some other Empire. But the Labour deputation's idea of "self-determination" is Dominion Home Rule. The deputation thinks that the majority of the Irish people would accept Dominion Home Rule, either with the right to contract out by county option, or with decision of the particular form of Home Rule decided by an Irish Constituent Assembly, elected by proportional representation; defence and foreign relations being reserved to the Imperial Parliament.

The Labour Party's proposal will certainly be rejected in Ireland, and the coming Social-Patriotic Labour Government will lay up for itself a store of trouble by refusing to grant independence.

It was inevitable that the Labour Party should decide against "self-determination," since it looks for compromise with capitalist elements in this country, which would not agree to allow Ireland to quit the Empire.

The Duty of Irish Communists.

At the Sinn Fein Albert Hall meeting, Cathal O'Shannon, the Irish Socialist and Labour leader, was speaking together with Arthur Griffith, who bitterly opposed the workers in the great Dublin lock-out, and who is a strong anti-Socialist. Comrade O'Shannon said that as long as King George of England is the ruler of Ireland, he will join with Irishmen of other political views in supporting the Sinn Fein bourgeois republic, which has been proclaimed in Ireland, and which is represented by Dail Eireann.

But Irish Communists should clearly differentiate themselves from the bourgeois social-patriots of Ireland. Already they should be pointing out that the goal is not Dail Eireann, which is merely an an Irish replica of the bourgeois Parliament at Westminster; but that the Irish workers must strive to establish Soviets. Already steps should be taken to establish the Irish Soviets. Those Soviets would be without power as yet, but they would not be so powerless as is Dail Eireann to-day.

The Irish Socialist Party.

There is an Irish Socialist Party: has it officially accepted the principles of the Third International? Does it stand for the Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat?

The Irish Socialist Party sent a delegate to the Berne meeting of the bourgeois Second International. It has not been represented at the Third International. It is said that the I.S.P. is sympathetic to the Third International; but it should take a definite stand.

A REPLY TO PHILIP SNOWDEN.

The Amsterdam Conference.

We have on several occasions found it necessary to observe that the present leaders of the I.L.P., who once formed the left wing of the Labour Party, now occupy a central position, and show signs of drifting to the extreme right.

Philip Snowden, in his *Labour Leader* notes, gives weekly proof of our contention. His comments on the meeting of the Third International in Amsterdam are such that one asks whether it can be possible that he still considers himself a Socialist. After a series of remarks of the sort one is accustomed to find in *The Times* and the *Morning Post*, he says:—

"A long resolution appears to have been passed, the terms of which are published, with regard to Soviet Russia, which probably contains more contradictions than were ever compressed into an equal number of paragraphs. The proposal to establish trade with Russia through the agency of the Co-operative Associations is denounced as a scheme for sowing dissention between the farmers and the workers, and for destroying the Soviets' monopoly from foreign sources. To prevent the carrying out of this scheme, an international strike is advocated, and this is to embrace political and economic demands in accordance with revolutionary evolution in all countries."

Philip Snowden seems to have seen either a garbled version of the Amsterdam resolution, or some disjointed extracts from it in the capitalist newspapers. No official report of the conference has yet appeared, but the Dutch police obtained copies of some of the resolutions, and have communicated something about them to the Dutch Press, from which the capitalist papers here have taken their accounts. We shall publish shortly a full report of the conference, but as Snowden has referred to this particular resolution, we reproduce it as it was actually adopted in Amsterdam:—

The Amsterdam Resolution On Soviet Russia.

A revolutionary action of the workers, to force international Capital to make peace with Russia, is a necessary condition to save Soviet Russia, and to hasten the World Revolution.

To further this action, the Communists of all lands must utilise every strike movement, every mass demonstration—

(1.) To place this aspect of their responsibilities to the Russian Revolution before the workers.

(2.) To convince them that their interests are identical with those of Soviet Russia..

(3.) To develop a strong feeling of revolutionary solidarity and revolutionary action the world over.

As the pressure of the workers upon the governments is increasing, the tendency is for the capitalist governments to propose a compromise peace, with the object of disintegrating Soviet Russia from within. The latest proposal is to take up commercial relations through reactionary representatives of pre-revolutionary co-operative societies that have since merged into the Soviet organisations, aims at separating the peasants from the workers, and destroying the Soviet monopoly of foreign trade. Under the cloak of such manœuvres, a great military spring offensive is being prepared, which must be prevented at all costs.

It is, therefore, essential that this international bureau takes immediate steps to prepare an international demonstration-strike against intervention in Soviet Russia. Such a strike not alone to demand ending the blockade and intervention in Soviet Russia, but to include political and economic demands adapted to the revolutionary requirements of the conditions prevailing in each nation. This demonstration to be supplemented by coercive strikes as the workers gain strength for such further action, in which special attention has to be paid to the expedition and transportation of war materials and equipment, propaganda being carried on, to withhold labour in such instances.

The appeal to the workers for international strike-action must not be made exclusively through the bureaucracy of the trade unions, but emphasis must be placed upon the masses in the unions, upon extra-union mass organs, and the creation of such organs if necessary.

When the revolution again arises in Germany, or in any other country, the forces of the international proletariat (especially the transport workers in Britain, America, France, Italy, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland) must be prepared for a general strike the moment the capitalist Powers attempt intervention. The bureau is to take immediate steps for organising this action in time to prevent the workers being again forestalled by the Governments.

It will be observed that the proposed International strike demonstration is to be used to prevent a military offensive against Soviet Russia, not to prevent Allied trading with the Russian Co-operatives, as Snowden states.

Does Snowden Imagine Allied Governments Friendly?

But we want to know whether Snowden seriously contends that the Allied proposal to establish trade with the Russian Co-operatives —not with the Soviet Government—has not been conceived in a spirit of hostility to Russian Communism and is not deliberately intended to sow dissension between the workers and farmers. If he believes the intentions of the Allied Governments to be friendly, we refer him to the statements of Lloyd George, who has openly boasted that the Allied intention is to destroy Bolshevism, and that having failed thus far to do it by force, the Allies are now going to attack it by trade and in other ways.

Lenin's View.

Lenin, in an interview with a *New York World* correspondent, which the *Daily News* published on February 23rd, expresses the conviction that the proposal is "simply a move in the Allied chess game." Lenin points out that the Co-operatives "no longer exist" in Soviet Russia, having been absorbed into the general Soviet system; and he asks: "If the Supreme Council really means to lift the blockade, why does it not tell us of its intention? We are without official word of it."

We ask Philip Snowden whether he believes the Allied Governments are now prepared to make peace with Soviet Russia, and if so, why they should go about it in this roundabout way? Lenin has again reiterated the fact that Soviet Russia desires and needs peace, and, in order to get it, is prepared to give foreign capital "most generous concessions and guarantees." If the Allied Governments had decided to abandon their attack on Russian Communism, would they not be negotiating to secure those concessions and guarantees, and to make them as big as possible, instead of merely stopping the fight without having gained anything; Philip Snowden is ignorant indeed of Allied capitalist diplomacy if he imagines that it would forego any advantage on any consideration.

Not Corn, But Gold.

It cannot be doubted that the offer of trade with the Co-operatives is, as Lenin says, an insincere one; but happily the Soviet Government is not easily overcome by trickery. Comrade Litvinoff was in Stockholm prepared to negotiate with the Allied Governments. His letters containing the Soviet peace offers were insolently returned unopened. But now that the Allies have decided to negotiate through the Co-operatives, they find that they still have to deal with Litvinoff, the representative of the Soviet Government, who was harried and insulted by the British authorities in London; Soviet Russia has made Litvinoff the Chief Russian Co-operator, in order that he may control the negotiations.

Soviet Russia, moreover, has done something else which the Allies may find equally disconcerting; it has decided to pay for the manufactured goods and materials which the Allies will send to Russia, not in grain, not in food, and other raw materials, but in gold.

Gold, though the most valuable form of money, is, after all, only an exchange token, valueless if not turned into the necessities of life. Gold cannot relieve the food shortage from which Europe is suffering, and which is causing the capitalists to fear the spread of the revolution.

It appears that the reply of the Soviet to the manœuvres of Allied capitalism is: if you will not make peace with us; if you will not deal directly with us, we will accept the rolling stock and the agricultural implements we need from you, but, in return, we will not give you the goods you need; we shall only give you gold.

And perhaps if a patched-up peace is made between the Soviets and the capitalist Governments (it can never be more than a patched-up peace between such rivals), even then Soviet Russia will be reluctant to help capitalism out of its difficulties.

The Military Question.

Lenin says that if the capitalist Governments find they cannot trade with Russia without making peace with the Soviets, they will not be able to avoid making peace much longer. In the meantime he is under no illusions as to their hostile intentions. He refers to the Polish attack on the Soviets, declaring that Clemenceau invented the scheme, and that Foch is going to carry out the offensive.

The news that Mr. Austen Chamberlain is promising a British loan to Poland certainly bears out Lenin's contention, in spite of some rumours that the Poles are about to make peace with Russia.

The splendid victories of the Red Army, the capture by them of the main strategic points seized by the counter-revolutionaries—the ports Odessa, Archangel, Vladivostok, and Murmansk—these show that Soviet Russia can hold her own, and compel respect from the capitalist world. It seems however, that the principles and tactics which have achieved and maintained the Russian Soviet Republic still fail to secure the respect of the social reformers of the I.L.P. school.

Lenin, it must be noticed, still recognises that there is a military danger facing Soviet Russia, that the projected Polish offensive is dangerous, and that if the Allied Powers were to send their own big armies against the Soviets they could crush the Communist Republic. He believes they dare not do so. We think he is right, but it is necessary to remain active and vigilant. Moreover, the danger of a German offensive, directed by the Allies, must always be held in mind.

Snowden And The Mines.

It is not only in regard to the Third International and the Russian Revolution that Snowden reveals his unmistakable drift to the right. He shows it on every question, both of principle and tactics. In his notes of February 19th he declares that the Labour Party made a mistake in seizing the first opportunity of the Parliamentary session to challenge the Government on its mines policy. He says that the Party ought to have waited for the Government to announce its own proposals. But the Government has announced the outlines of its proposals, though these have not yet taken legislative shape. Snowden perhaps thinks that the Labour Party should have waited until a Government Bill was before the House, in order to move amendments. That policy leaves it to the Government to call the tune, and gives Labour only the opportunity of slightly modifying it: it is a policy of weakness. We do not favour either the Sankey Nationalisation scheme or that of the Miners' Federation Executive. We recognise that nationalisation without workers' control is ineffective, and that nationalisation and workers' control of any industry cannot be achieved within the capitalist system.

Nevertheless, we are convinced that the Labour Party was right in making an immediate challenge to the Government. If for no other reason, the challenge was essential because it clearly revealed the hostility of the Government to the miners, in time for the position to be considered by the miners' lodges before the special conference on March 25th.

But Snowden says the challenge "gave Mr Lloyd George the opportunity he desired, and that he made the best use of it will not be denied."

It seems to us that Lloyd George's speech was one that no Socialist should find difficulty in demolishing. One of its remarkable statements was that to allow the miners to control their industry would be "to hand over the property of the nation to one class."

Thus he obligingly admitted that the mines actually are the property of the nation; he thereby demolished the capitalist case.

But from our standpoint, Lloyd George's speech was useful because it displays in bold lines to any worker who reads it carefully the position of parties; on the one hand the Coalition Government; on the other the reformist Labour Party, standing for a sham nationalisation, which would preserve interest at 5 or 5½ per cent. to the capitalists; and outside these, the miners, who go down below to get coal, to

whom nationalisation means something vague and indefinite, as yet, but something infinitely more than the schemes envisaged by the Labour Party

Snowden concluded by uttering a warning against a general strike to enforce nationalisation. He declares that Lloyd George is anxious that the Trade Unionists should declare a strike; but, according to Snowden, this is not the way "to convert the country." He seems to overlook the fact that the miners have got to deal, not with the country, but with the capitalist. The struggle to expropriate Capitalism is not a mere affair of speech-making.

Snowden And Wilson.

In the days of not long ago, Snowden's Party accepted with enthusiasm the policy of President Wilson. Now he refers to the President as a "conceited autocrat" who is "unsupported by the equipment of ability and knowledge for the discharge of the grave and responsible duties of his office." A changed view, indeed! "The American Press of all parties is taking the side of Mr. Lansing in this disagreement," says Snowden, as though the capitalist Press could ever be taken as a sure guide—and now Paul Hanna is writing to *The Herald* to tell us that Wilson dismissed Lansing because Lansing was trying to bring about a war with Mexico!

TO "HOLY" RUSSIA.

Long struggling under the Imperial heel,
Some dared not see the white flame of your star
Dimmed by the loathsome shadow of your Tsar.
But men who clung to sacred dreams could feel

Some day you would put forth your arm of steel
And drag the mannikins from near and far,
Before the mighty people's judgment bar,
To answer for the ruined commonweal . . .

Down from their high, dishonoured place you hurled
The cowed, incompetent, corrupted few;
The blood-bathed flag of a new life unfurled,

Revealed your soul alike to Slav and Jew:
The eyes of the too-long submissive world,
Lifted in golden hope, are turned to you!

CLAUDE McKAY.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

February 16th.—Mr. Bonar Law declared that "the Government informed the Baltic States, Finland and Poland, that they must decide the question of peace or war with Soviet Russia according to their own judgment."

Bolshevik Propaganda.

February 17th.—Mr. Shortt stated that "Bolshevist agents are receiving constant and careful attention." But what about the anti-Bolsheviks who are trying to force this country to continue to fight Soviet Russia? They are the real danger to this country.

Forced to Hear Courtier-Forster.

The fact that the Reverend Courtier-Forster delivered an address on anti-Bolshevism at the Warncliffe Hill Hospital, Sheffield, was stated by Lieut.-Colonel Malone (L.). All officers and patients were ordered to parade for this lecture, and even compulsory parades were inaugurated to enable serving units to hear this anti-Bolshevik lecture. Mr. Churchill denied that Courtier-Forster's lecture was on "anti-Bolshevism," it was merely his personal experiences. Having heard this man speak, I know how bitterly anti-Bolshevik he is, and how garbled his stories are!

Coal Bill.

A Bill purporting to limit the profits of coal-owners was introduced on behalf of the Government by Mr. Bridgeman. He began his speech by declaring that he had never worked in a coal mine! The miners' representatives and other Labour Members put up a strong opposition; but still, when a division was taken, the Government had 279 votes whilst the Opposition had only 61.

Lloyd George Not for Peace!

February 18th.—Commander Kenworthy (L.) pointed out that the Bolshevik Army, when entering Odessa, was fired on by British ships, although the Prime Minister had made a "pacifist speech" in the House. Mr. Bonar Law retorted that he regarded this description of the Prime Minister's speech as "*singularly inaccurate*."

British Forces in Russian Waters.

Mr. Long admitted that the following British forces are in Russian waters: Baltic, 4 light cruisers; 3 destroyers; Black Sea, 2 battleships, 3 light cruisers, 7 destroyers, 1 sloop. British forces have been supporting General Denikin. British troops are still at Batum.

The Prime Minister had said they were withdrawing.

Denikin Still Supported.

February 19th.—Mr. Lloyd George stated that supplies "are still being sent to General Denikin, as the arrangement was to do so until March 31st."

Afraid of the Truth.

The Supreme Council has come to a decision not to grant passports to Soviet Russia!

Germany's Armed Forces.

Churchill confirmed the statements by Philips Price that the Allies have allowed the Germans to postpone the reduction of their army to 200,000 till April 10th. It is now 300,000 to 350,000. An armed constabulary of 70,000 is being formed; the navy has 12,000 land forces; between 450,000 and 600,000 reserve formations are controlled by the Minister of the Interior.

The Supreme Council, says Churchill, is considering the question of disbanding these subsidiary forces.

Price is right; these forces are tolerated because they are to be used against the Workers' Revolution in Germany and elsewhere. *The Times* says the German forces amount to 2,000,000.

D.O.R.A.

The War Emergency Laws (Continuance) Bill was debated on February 16th and 19th, when it was decided to keep certain D.O.R.A. regulations in force until August 31st. In spite of opposition, especially on the part of Irish representatives, the Bill was given a Second Reading.

Mothers' Pensions Thrown Out.

The Labour Party's Mothers' Pensions' Bill was declared out of order because, as it would cost money, it ought to have been preceded by a financial resolution, which only the Government can move!

Municipal Trading Bill Defeated.

The Labour Party then moved its Local Authorities' Enabling Bill, the object of which is to enable Local Authorities to acquire land or do anything that a company, acting under the Company's Act of 1908, can do. The Government opposed the Bill and it received only 26 votes. The Labour Party Members themselves seem to have stayed away.

M.O'C.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

Rhondda Miners Down Tools in Support of Comrade.

As foreshadowed last week, the Rhondda miners "downed tools" on Monday, February 23rd. Not only were the Rhondda miners prepared to strike, but all the workmen engaged under the Ocean Coal Co. were also ready and willing to take a similar course, unless Pritchard, who is employed by the Ocean Coal Co. was re-instated. But at a late hour on Saturday night news came through that Pritchard was to return to work at his own place, which had, in the interval, been boycotted by his fellow-workers. No settlement having been arrived at in relation to comrade Horner's case, the Rhondda miners gave another display of their fine class solidarity, and struck to a man.

The decision was arrived at in a meeting of the District, held on the 14th instant, and confirmed at a meeting held on the 21st instant. Nearly a dozen mass meetings were held in the District on Sunday, at which the miners showed great enthusiasm. One little correction to the reports circulated by the capitalist press is necessary: the Rhondda No. 1 District comprises well over 40,000 men, and not 30,000 miners, as stated.

The strike has succeeded, and Horner has been re-instated. The South Wales coal-owners will certainly hesitate before attempting to victimise any worker in future.

The Unofficial Reform Committee.

The Old Unofficial Reform Committee of the Rhondda met on the night of February 21st, when matters of great urgency and importance were discussed.

Mr. Brace will need every bit of his Parliamentary ingenuity if he is to dodge the net that the Left Wing will spread for him at the next conference of the South Wales Miners' Federation.

Congratulations to those responsible for last Saturday's meeting; may you reap your fruit at the conference on the 28th.

Rhondda Pressure Has Succeeded.

As the reader will gather, the action of the Rhondda in withholding payments to the Central has been highly successful in forcing a conference.

Beer and Anti-Nationalisation Propaganda.

I hold no brief for nationalisation, but a short exposure of the methods by which resolutions are obtained protesting against it may be of interest. Wherever possible, meetings are held within the precincts of a club. A short time before the meeting commences, *free beer* is the order, for the clubs of Wales are merely glorified drinking dens. This has a wonderful psychological effect; forgotten are all the worries of the day, whilst in its place a spirit of conviviality is engendered. Then "stop tap" is called, and, with mugs of beer in their hands, these other mugs wend their way to the meeting room. Here the lecturer is prepared, and for half an hour or so delivers a diatribe against some local Labour leader and the Bolsheviks. "Mr. Half-Drunk" is then called upon to move a resolution expressing the determination of that meeting of "loyal" workers to do all in its power to resist nationalisation, etc. This is duly seconded by "Mr. S. Lewed," put to the meeting, and carried unanimously, amidst much clapping; cheering is never heard at this end of the meeting. So dry indeed, does everyone seem, that a mad scramble towards the bar, which is now opened, takes place.

Next day the papers report as follows: "At a mass meeting of miners, held at the Blue Spectacled Club, a resolution protesting against any scheme of nationalisation was carried unanimously amidst great enthusiasm." Hon. Members of Parliament refer, in debate, to the evidences of opposition amongst the miners to any alteration of their status, whilst the Communist miner smiles, confident in his knowledge, and continues his agitation.

Bolshevik Doctors.

At a meeting of the Herefordshire Education Authorities, alluding to the action of Leominster doctors in refusing to grant certificates to children who were too ill to attend school, unless the education authority paid for them, a Mr. Southall said it was "rank Bolshevism," and hoped a scheme would be devised whereby they could do without doctors, just as they had carried on without the railwaymen during the strike!

South Wales Farmers' Strike.

The farmers who supply South Wales with milk have, according to the papers, been on strike since the 16th instant. Their demand is for 2s. 11d. per gallon, and, although it seems that certain localities have gone short, a fair supply of milk has been maintained in others. No troops or metropolitan Police have yet arrived in Wales to deal with the strike, although this is, surely, "an attack upon the comunity."

In an attempt to justify private enterprise in the mining industry, Mr. Finlay A. Gibson, secretary of the South Wales Coal Owners' Association, quotes a list of figures to show that the death rate in and about the pits has been considerably reduced since 1874, owing, he claims, to the efforts of the coal-owners. In this, however, he is altogether wrong, for the greatest factor in the reduction of the death rate has been the ever-increasing realisation of the miner that he is a man and not a mere work-beast.

Intensification of labour in the mines means murder, and the miner is realising this; hence the growth of ca-canny, and the reducing death rate.

LONDON "HANDS OFF RUSSIA" COMMITTEE.

GREAT DEMONSTRATION at ALBERT HALL

on SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28th, at 7.45 p.m.

For Tickets apply to Secretary: FRED H. PEET, 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C. 2.

Speakers:

Lt-Col. MALONE, M.P., Wm. T. GOODE, M.A., ISRAEL ZANGWILL, JOHN MACLEAN, M.A., Commander H. GRENFELL (late British Naval Attaché, Petrograd), **ROBERT WILLIAMS.**

Chairman - - - - - TOM MANN.

No charge is made for Tickets, but contributions towards cost of meeting will be cordially appreciated.

WANTED: STEWARDS AND LITERATURE SELLERS.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

Someone, who has overheard someone else yowling for increased production and hard work, has been and gone and produced a new Black Book. This has no connection with the other Black Book of the 47,000, mislaid by Pemberton Billing. This one is an entirely original work of imagination, and not only deals with atrocities, but gives their names and addresses. So far as I know, these amount rather to 470 than to 47,000, but this morning's "stop press" tells me this is only the first instalment.

Of course, I need not say that the first name on this list is a modest gentleman who lives at a Dutch health resort. He is, at present, still *incognito*, so wild horses will not drag his surname from me. I may say, however, that his front name is Willum.

Next on the list is a young man of forty, who slightly resembles his father, if you shut your eyes and take away the number you first thought of. He is credited with 150 wives, and, immediately after the German revolution, he was murdered in a railway carriage. Seventeen bayonets felt around his guts and made sure he was dead. Before the evening papers could give details of his funeral, however, he disguised himself in a pair of goggles and raced over the Dutch frontier just before closing hours.

But we are not particularly dealing with these small persons of no account. What I want you to give the "once over" Henry, is this:—

Talk of Dutch Blockade. Reported Allied Plans to enforce Kaiser's Surrender.

That makes you feel good, doesn't it? At last one of the arch criminals is about to get it severely in the Johnny Walker. When we have done with him, he won't half know it; not half. Read on—

We understand that radical measures are contemplated, such as the rupture of diplomatic relations, and a maritime blockade, in the event of Holland persisting in her refusal.

If the Dutch are not careful, Lord Percy will be dreadfully annoyed with Count van Smorltork, and it may even lead to coffee for two and a corner in pistols. The Dutch had better look out; we have not forgotten the nasty look they gave us during the War when we collared their ships, because ours were taking single tickets to the Mermaids' Cavern.

And what about Van Tromp? And the Dutch Fleet, which came sailing up the Medway and sent a few whiffs of carronade on or near where Chatham might reasonably be supposed to be the Censor permitting; are we to forget that outrage? True, it happened—let me see—Yes!—about four hundred years ago, but, ah! then. I distinctly remember getting a piece of Dutch cheese in my throat once, and I have no doubt it was a Dutch plot, or at least financed by Dutch gold. Have we forgotten the Boer War? Wasn't old Kruger a Dutchy, who taught the commandoes or kopjes, or whatever he called those whiskered troops of his, to shoot on the Red Cross? And the white flag, too? They didn't sink any hospital ships, but then—if they only had had U boats!

Hand over the Kaiser and let us have a good look at him, so we could have a lock of his hair and pull it out ourselves. And, as Horatio Bottomley says about giving the "cat" to hardened criminals, them's my sentiments.

Well, Henry, I like that last little speech of yours. I just happened to look at a *Sunday Times* on the 8th, this being a reliable paper, with the King's Arms on the front page; and what do you suppose I saw? Polish your specs and run down the end of this column:—

As "frightfulness" fell more heavily on the French than on the other peoples of the Entente, it is easy to understand their great anxiety that the War criminals shall not escape punishment, but they have gone far to defeat this purpose. *As for the ex-Kaiser's surrender, the demand for his extradition was plainly insincere, and nothing would have been more disconcerting to the Allies than Holland's compliance.*

Some shock, sure; what? But that is not all. There is worse to come. There is a paper called the *Financial News*, which tells you how to buy bulls and bears and that sort of thing; this is what the money bugs favourite journal says:—

Since "Box and Cox" there has been nothing so funny as the farcical application for the surrender of the Kaiser. Does the public realise that *it was arranged before the Armistice* that Holland should decline to give him up? There is not, and has never been, the slightest intention of bringing the Kaiser to trial, just as there is not, and has never been any real idea of exacting an indemnity from Germany.

And so it would seem, Henry, that the Black List, which is said to have inspired so much blue funk in Germany—and Holland—is nothing but a very large and live red herring.

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliament, and the substitution of a Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

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Write to the SECRETARY, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone: East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, February 27th, Cobden Statue (near Mornington Crescent), 7.30 p.m. Henry Sara. Chair: Melvina Walker.
Saturday, February 28th, The Grove, Hammersmith, 3 p.m. Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.
Sunday, February 29th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Melvina Walker, Miss Grove.
Tuesday, March 2nd, Market Place, Lewisham, 7.30 p.m. Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.
Saturday, March 6th. Meetings in St. Pancras.

INDOOR.

Monday, March 1st, 20, Railway Street, 7.30 p.m. Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m., Reading Circle.
Thursday, March 4th, 20, Railway Street, 8 p.m. Mark Starr. Fourth Lecture on Economics: "Money. Earlier Forms of Value. Why Gold Became Money. Its Functions."
Friday, March 5th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 to 10 p.m. Dancing.
Sunday, March 7th, 400, Old Ford Road, at 7 p.m. D. E. Maguire. Chair: P. A. Edmunds.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.
Sunday, February 29th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon).
Tuesday, March 2nd, Queens Road, Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m.
Thursday, March 4th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
Tuesday, March 2nd, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Christy and others.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Mr. H. P. Burgess, £3; Anon, 2s. 6d.; Miss A. St. John Adcock, 10s.

COLLECTIONS.—Poplar "Hands Off Russia" Meeting, £5. 0s. 9½d.; Lewisham and Camberwell, £1. 15s.; Bow Workers' Hall (two), £1. 0s. 9d.; Mrs. Walker, 12s. 9½d.; Osborn Street, 10s.; P. F., 10s.; General Meetings (two), 4s. 9½d.; Dock Gates, 2s.; Old Vic, 1s. 6d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Mrs. M. M. Weigall, £10; Profit on Party, £7. 15s.; Miss Anne Udney, £4. 3s. 10d.; Nurse Hebbes (10s. weekly), £2; per Miss J. E. Weir (monthly), £1; Miss Gertie Ross, per Nurse Clarke, 6s.; Mrs. Neale, 2s. 8d.; Miss C. Symonds, 2s. 6d.; Miss Limouzin 5½d.

COLLECTIONS.—Poplar Members (Green's Yard), 19s. 6d.

CLOTHES.—Mrs. Matthews, Mrs. Robertson, Mrs. Boswell.

COT.—Mrs. Beha.

The Soviet Arms.

A special sub-committee has been appointed by the W.S.F. to arrange for a red silk banner, blazoned with the Soviet arms; it is hoped that the banner will be ready by May Day. Funds are needed for this purpose: therefore, send a donation for the Banner Fund to L. Burgis, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

A Debt Owing.

We have recently given our readers two valuable supplements containing the report of the Third International Meeting in December. With paper at its present high price, we gave you more than your money's worth. Therefore, if you appreciated these supplements, please send as large a donation as possible to the Secretary of the *Dreadnought* Fund, at 152, Fleet Street, E.C. You will thus enable us to provide another important supplement shortly.

LABOUR v. CAPITAL.

(A DEBATE IN SHEFFIELD).

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

Dear Editor: A debate has taken place between Mr. W. H. Hitchens, chairman of Cammell Lairds, and Mr. G. Fletcher, a baker, and an old member of the Socialist movement. The subject was: "Can Labour and Capital co-operate?" The Victoria Hall, which holds about 2,000 people, was packed.

The Rev. Vint. Laughland, who, by the way, has got the ancient order of the boot because his politics do not fit in with the requirements of the Unitarian Church, took the chair, saying that we read in the capitalist papers that the present unrest is caused by the extreme trade unionists, "but," he said, "it is due to the awakening of the people." Mr. Hichens is one of the great captains of industry; one of the brain workers, a believer in co-operation with the *proviso* that he remains the master and the slave is still the slave. Before this gentleman had proceeded far into his 40 minutes, the thinkers in the hall were startled by some 16th century philosophy. Says this college product: "You may as well say that women produce all the children without men, as that Labour creates all the wealth. Capital is savings. You cannot expect new houses unless you are thrifty and save."

Then he went on to give an example of what he meant by Capital: If man was wrecked upon a desert island, his only means of life would be catching fish. Of course, this would take all his time, he having no boat or tackle, the fish would have to be caught from the rocks; but if one day a squall came and covered the rocks with fish, he would be able to save many fish, which would be the same as Capital to-day, i.e., savings. Could anyone claim that the factory girl who had a few shares in large works was not a Capitalist? So the intellectual giant went on for 40 minutes.

Then came a change in the programme. Fletcher, in a cool, calculating manner, and with complete knowledge of the ethics of the Capitalist system, proceeded to undo the fish story, pulverise the factory lass tale, and expose the Capitalist co-operative confidence dodge. The audience was delighted with Fletcher's manner of dealing the knock-out. The workers could not co-operate with the robbers. What we had to do was to stop robbery. Co-operation between master and man was like holding the candle for the burglar. The only way to co-operate was by all the people owning everything for the common-weal, and not for the benefit of the Capitalist. Everybody was agreed that Mr. Hichen's case had been absolutely dismissed, and that his comrades would be very angry with him for not doing better but he had a rotten case. Yours etc., T. SIMS.

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